

Message Text

PAGE 01 USUN N 02582 01 OF 02 170152Z

73

ACTION IO-14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2582

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNSC EG

SUBJ: SC DEBATE ON ME: MEETING WITH EGYPTIAN PERMREP

SUMMARY. AT MEETING JULY 16 BENNETT INFORMED EGYPTIAN PERMREP US STRONGLY PREFERS CONSENSUS TO RES AND CONSENSUS SHOULD INCLUDE ONLY TWO POINTS: REAFFIRMATION RES 242 AND WELCOMING OF SYG VISIT. HE STRESSED THAT SYG VISIT WAS POSITIVE STEP; SC SHOULD DO NOTHING TO HARM PROSPECTS OF THIS VISIT AND SHOULD BE LOOKING AHEAD NOT BACKWARDS TO OLD CONCEPTS AND IDEAS WHICH HAVE FAILED. BENNETT COMMENTED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT REFERENCES TO JARRING MEMO OR OTHER EFFORTS REDEFINE 242 WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO US. MEGUID SAID EGYPT, WHICH HAD OVERWHELMING SUPPORT IN SC, PREFERRED RES AND, AT ANY RATE, TWO POINTS MENTIONED BY BENNETT FOR CONSENSUS WERE NOT SUFFICIENT. HE INDICATED THAT SOME LANGUAGE ON RIGHTS OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF EGYPT WOULD BE NECESSARY. HE PROFESSED SEVERAL TIMES EGYPT'S DESIRE NOT TO HAVE CONFRONTATION WITH US AND VETO. BUT, HE SAID, EGYPT "IS NOT AFRAID OF VETO." MEGUID ALSO INFORMED US THAT FONMIN ZAYYAT SCHEDULED ARRIVE NEW YORK JULY 17. DEBATE COULD COMMENCE, HE SAID, JULY 20 OR 23.

1. AMB BENNETT, ACCOMPANIED BY MISOFF NAAS, MET WITH EGYPTIAN
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02582 01 OF 02 170152Z

PERMREP MEGUID, DEPUTY PERMREP OSMAN AND COUNSELLOR KASSEM JULY 16. BENNETT COMMENCED CONVERSATION BY NOTING THAT AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO BOTH SIDES IN HOPES OF MAKING PROGRESS ON ME IN LIGHT SC CONSIDERATION. BENNETT STATED USG VIEWED SYG ANNOUNCE-

MENT OF HIS INTENT TO VISIT AREA A POSITIVE STEP AND COMMENTED THAT WE SHOULD BE LOOKING FORWARD TOWARDS HELPFUL ACTION BY SC RATHER THAN, AS SO OFTEN OCCURRED IN THIS CONTEXT, LOOKING BACKWARDS TO EVENTS AND CONCEPTS ALREADY GRAPPLED WITH UNSUCCESSFULLY. SC SHOULD, HE SAID, AVOID REITERATING OLD IDEAS WHICH WE KNOW BY EXPERIENCE WILL NOT WORK.

2. MEGUID REPLIED THAT FROM BEGINNING OF THIS NEW PHASE OF UN EXAMINATION OF ME SITUATION, EGYPT HAD TAKEN BUSINESS-LIKE APPROACH. EGYPT BELIEVED THERE IS STILL CHANCE FOR SOLUTION DESPITE ALL SETBACKS AND COMPLEXITIES OF SITUATION. IN FIRST PHASE OF SC DEBATE, EGYPT HAD RECEIVED OVERWHELMING SUPPORT. HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAD STUDIED AMB SCALI'S STATEMENT VERY CAREFULLY AND FOUND SOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS. EGYPT WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE "NON-IDENTITY OF US AND ISRAELI INTERESTS" AND US SHOULD NOW SHOW MORE CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF THIS APPROACH. EGYPT IS LOOKING FORWARD TO SECOND ROUND WITH HOPE; TIME HAS PASSED FOR FURTHER SC "EXERCISES IN FUTILITY." EGYPT'S INTENT WILL BE TO HAVE STRONG SC SUPPORT OF ITS POSITION REFLECTED IN RES ACCEPTABLE TO ALL MEMBERS. EGYPT IS NOT LOOKING FOR US VETO AND WISHES TO AVOID CONFRONTATION; EGYPT "DOES NOT WANT TO CORNER US INTO A VETO." AT SAME TIME, EGYPT IS NOT AFRAID OF VETO AND SHOULD ITSELF NOT BE CORNERED INTO HAVING TO MAKE CHOICE BETWEEN ACQUIESCING IN LOSS OF TERRITORY AND AMERICAN VETO. EGYPT WISHES TO LOOK TO FUTURE IN ANY RES BUT CANNOT IGNORE PAST. OTHERWISE, EGYPT WOULD BE STARTING FROM SCRATCH. HE THEN EXPRESSED WISH THAT US AND EGYPTIAN DEL CONSULT FULLY AND OPENLY IN EFFORT WORK OUT ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE AREA.

3. BENNETT RESPONDED THAT WE WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITY STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH AND AFFIRMED THAT US WOULD GREATLY PREFER ACCEPTABLE SC DECISION TO VETO. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THERE ARE CERTAIN PARAMETERS TO US POSITION. HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING, HE SAID, THAT WE IGNORE THE PAST "BUT PERHAPS PAST IS TOO MUCH WITH US." IT WAS NOE THING TO TALK OF AN OVERWHELMING VOTE IN FAVOR OF EGYPT'S POSITION BUT WE MUST REMEMBER A VOTE IN ITSELF CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 02582 01 OF 02 170152Z

DID NOT NECESSARILY MEAN PROGRESS; US WAS INTERESTED IN REALISTIC STEPS FORWARD, EVEN SMALL ONES IF THEY WERE POSITIVE AND MEANT PROGRESS. SC MUST AVOID "WORDS FOR SAKE OF WORDS," WHICH WE KNOW FROM EXPERIENCE WILL MAR FUTURE HOPES. FRANKLY, BENNETT STATED, US MUCH PREFERS CONSENSUS TO RES. WE BELIEVED THAT RES ACCEPTABLE TO ALL WOULD BE VERY HARD TO DEVELOP. NO MATTER HOW DESIROUS ALL PARTIES ARE FOR PROGRESS AND LOW-KEY DEBATE, ONCE DEBATE GET STARTED IT WOULD BE HARD TO KEEP IT UNDER CONTROL.

4. MEGUID, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE US PROPOSAL FOR CONSENSUS WAS DESIRABLE ON SUCH A HIGHLY POLITICAL SUBJECT: SUCH PROCEDURES WAS SATISFACTORY FOR HIJACKING AND LIKE

MATTERS. HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT, HE SAID, TO CONCEIVE OF AN ACCEPTABLE CONSENSUS AND ADDED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE TEXT OF CONSENSUS WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO US. EGYPT IS NOT INTERESTED, HE REITERATED, IN ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE AND POLEMICS. ME SITUATION IS MUCH TOO SERIOUS FOR THAT AND THIS SC MEETING WILL DO MUCH TO DETERMINE WHETHER THERE WILL BE PEACE AND SECURITY IN ME. DEBATE WILL REVEAL WHETHER THERE IS HOPE FOR EGYPT OR WHETHER "OTHER DIFFICULT DECISIONS MUST BE TAKEN."

5. MEGUID AGREED THAT VISIT OF SYG WAS USEFUL STEP SINCE HE HAD NOT VISITED AREA PREVIOUSLY. HE EXPRESSED HOPE VISIT WOULD NOT BE USED AS A PRETEXT FOR AVOIDING ISSUES BEFORE COUNCIL. WHEN EGYPT ISSUED INVITATION TO HIM, IT DID NOT HAVE THIS IN MIND AND HE NOTED THAT RUMORS WITHIN UN THAT EGYPT WOULD BE WILLING TO POSTPONE SC DELIBERATIONS TO ACCOMMODATE SYG VISIT WERE BASELESS.

6. BENNETT SAID US POSITION WAS OFTEN MISREPRESENTED AS WELL. HE HOPED MEGUID WOULD NOT PERMIT ITSELF TO BE MISLED BY WHAT OTHERS MIGHT SAY OR SPECULATE ABOUT US POSITIONS; ONLY US WAS AUTHORIZED TO SPEAK FOR US. HE SAID HE WOULD NOT DESCRIBE CONSENSUS PROCEDURE AS A US "PROPOSAL," BUT RATHER A STATEMENT OF OUR STRONG PREFERENCE. WE HAD BEEN FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY SYG ANNOUNCEMENT AND HEARTENED THAT THIS ORIGNIAL EGYPTIAN INITIATIVE HAD FOUND GENERAL ACCEPTANCE. WE WERE PREPARED TO HAVE CONSENSUS REAFFIRM RES 242 IN ALL ITS ASPECTS AS WELL AS NOTE WITH SATISFACTION SYG VISIT AND AGREEMENT OF PARTIES TO RECEIVE HIM. HOW IS NOT THE TIME, BENNETT SAID, FOR EFFORT TO REDEFINE ELEMENTS OF 242. SYG VISIT IN ITSELF IS PROGRESS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 02582 01 OF 02 170152Z

AND NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO HARM THIS INITIATIVE.

7. MEGUID SAID THAT AT LATER STAGE HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE FURTHER ELABORATION OF OUR IDEAS ON A CONSENSUS. CONCERNING TWO POINTS THAT AMB BENNETT MENTIONED, THEY WERE NOT ENOUGH FOR EGYPT. HE WANTED US, HE SAID, TO BE THINKING OF SOME REFERENCE TO VERY IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. EGYPT HAD BEEN VERY PLEASED BY THIS ASPECT OF NIXON-BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE. EGYPT HAS TRIED TO BE ACCOMMODATING IN PAST BUT IT CANNOT RETREAT ON BASIC PRINCIPLE OF ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. EGYPT WILL NEVER CHANGE ITS POSITION ON THIS PRINCIPLE. HE SAID THAT HE STILL BELIEVED US AND EGYPT SHOULD FIND A WAY OUT OF ME DEADLOCK. EGYPT AND US SHOULD TRY TO FIND POINTS OF AGREEMENT AS WELL AS DEFINE POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT. IF SOME OF FORMER COULD BE PUT IN RES, THIS WOULD BE PROGRESS. HE REITERATED THAT TWO POINTS WERE IN-SUFFICIENT AND US SHOULD LOOK FOR POINTS WHICH IT HAS ACCEPTED IN PAST. IT WOULD GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE IN AREA IF TWO DELS COULD WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER.

8. BENNETT AGREED THAT TWO DELS SHOULD BE CLOSER THAN WE HAVE BEEN IN PAST AND THAT THIS WOULD BE IN INTERESTS OF BOTH. US WOULD LIKE TO SEE SC AGREE ON PRACTICAL STEPS WHICH WOULD

MOVE US CLOSER TO OVERALL SOLUTION. IN OUR VIEW, HE SAID, STEP BY STEP APPROACH WILL BE NECESSARY SINCE DIFFERENCES OF PARTIES ARE TOO GREAT TO BE RESOLVED IN ONE AGREEMENT. HE STATED CLEARLY THAT EGYPT, HAVING FOUND SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT IN OUR RECENT STATEMENTS, SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO TRY TO PUSH USG BEYOND POINT WHICH IT COULD GO. VERY FRANKLY, BENNETT SAID, REFERENCE TO JARRING MEMO "WOULD NOT MAKE A RES WHICH COULD BE ADOPTED." HE EMPHASIZED ALSO THAT OTHER EFFORTS OF RE-DEFINITION WHICH WOULD HAVE EFFECT OF ALTERING BALANCE OF 242 WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO US.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02582 02 OF 02 170152Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2582

9. MEGUID AGAIN REFERRED TO SCALI STATEMENT AND IN PARTICULAR TO WORDS "FIRMLY LINKED." HE SAID THIS WAS USEFUL AND US SHOULD CAREFULLY DEFINE WHAT IT MEANS; EGYPT HAD TO KNOW WHAT FINAL SOLUTION WOULD BE. INTERIM ARRANGEMENT WAS ORIGINALLY, HE NOTED, AN EGYPTIAN IDEA, BUT EYGPPT ALWAYS TOOK POSITION FINAL SOLUTION MUST BE KNOWN BEFORE FIRST STEP COULD BE TAKEN. "FIRMLY LINKED" IS STEP FORWARD FOR US BUT TERROTIRIAL INTEGRITY OF EGYPT IS SACROSCANT. TURNING TO JARRING MEMO, HE SATED THAT MEMO WAS NOT EHGPTIAN IDEA AND WAS ORIGNIALLY INSPIRED BY SECRETARY ROGERS' IDEAS AND HAD RECEIVED US BENEDICTION. HE SUGGESTED US SHOULD GO ALONG WITH REFERENCE TO JARRING MEMO AND LET ISRAEL REJECT SC OUTCOME IF IT WISHED. US SHOULD LOOK TO ITS OWN INTERESTS AND NOTE THOSE OF ISRAEL. US HAS INTEREST IN CONTINUED EXISTENCE AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL, WHICH EGYPT RECOGNIZED, BUT NOT IN ISRAELI EXPANSIONISM. IT WOULD LOOK STRANGE TO WORLD, MEGUID SAID, IF US OPPOSED WILLINGNESS OF 14 MEMBERS TO REFER TO JARRING MEMO. EGYPT RECOGNIZES FULL WELL THAT ITS LAND WILL NOT BE LIBERATED AS RESULT OF SC RES, BUT AT LEAST UN WOULD HAVE FACED UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF EGYPT IS AT STAKE AND, IF US REFUSED ACCEPT REFERENCE TO JARRING MEMO, IT WOULD

MEAN US IMPLICITLY ACCEPTED ISRAEL'S ACQUISITION OF EGYPTIAN TERRITORY. EGYPT FIRMLY TAKES POSITION, HE AFFIRMED, THAT JARRING MEMO AND RES 242 DID NOT MEAN LOSS OF EGYPTIAN TERRITORY. CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 02582 02 OF 02 170152Z

10. BENNETT REITERATED US WAS INTERESTED IN PRACTICAL STEPS AND REFERENCES TO JARRING MEMO OR OTHER RESES WERE AN EXERCISE IN LOOKING BACK RATHER THAN AHEAD. WE ARE DEALING IN A DIFFICULT AND SENSITIVE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK AND MUST OPERATE PRAGMATICALLY WITHIN IT. NO ONE PARTY CAN EXPECT TO GET ALL IT WANTS IN THIS SITUATION. RES 242, BENNETT STRESSED, IS ONLY STATEMENT ON THE PROBLEM ON WHICH ALL PARTIES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO AGREE; IT IS IMPORTANT WE WORK FROM THIS AGREED BASIS AND NOT TRY TO BUILD PROGRESS FROM UNAGREED BASIS. HE REITERATED REFERENCES TO JARRING MEMO AND OTHER RESES WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE.

11. MEGUID SAID FONMIN ZAYYAT NOW SCHEDULED ARRIVE NEW YORK DIRECTLY FROM PARIS ON JULY 17. NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WERE WORKING ON DRAFT RES, BUT NOTHING HAD BEEN FINALIZED AS YET. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT US AND EGYPT COULD DISCUSS SITUATION LATER IN WEEK AND AVOID CONFRONTATION. WITH RESPECT TO TIMING OF SC DEBATE, EGYPT WAS PREPARED TO MEET JULY 20 BUT SEVERAL DELS HAD INDICATED PREFERENCE FOR JULY 23. EGYPT WOULD NOT OBJECT TO LATER DATE.

12. SYG IN LATER CONVERSATION WITH BENNETT AND POPPER SAID HE WOULD PREFER DEBATE AT LEAST GET STARTED ON JULY 20, SO THAT JULY 23 MEETING WOULD BE FULLY SUBSTANTIVE. MEANWHILE, SYG HAS PROPOSED TO EE HOSTS THAT HE POSTPONE HIS TRIP ONE WEEK FROM ORIGINAL SCHEDULE OF JULY 21 DEPARTURE. BENNETT

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